

# THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, JUN., EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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## BUSINESS NOTICES.

"As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will not be a sufficient receipt."

"Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting money on which they are entitled to a commission, they will retain the amount of their commission, and, in all cases, forward the same with the money, so as to make the account clear of remittance."

"Agents and others who wish to send us fractions of parts of a dollar, can now do so without increasing the postage, by remitting pre-paid post office stamp, which can now be obtained at any post office."

"We invite the attention of those who are remitting money to the following table, showing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in this city. We earnestly hope that those who send money will endeavor to send such bank bills as are at the lowest discount:

Washington, D. C.	Par.	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
Baltimore	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
Philadelphia	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
New York	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
New York	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
New Jersey	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
Eastern Penn.	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days
Western Penn.	Per	50c per cent.	1-1/2 days

## THE NATIONAL ERA,

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 11, 1848.

For the National Era.

## SKETCHES

OF

## MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS,

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No. 102—*Ireland—The Causes of its Despotism—Dublin—Its Moments of the Captivity of the Country—The Antiquity and Power of the Papal Church—Treaty of Limerick—The Catholic Penal Code of Ireland—Its Origin—Opinions of Paus Montesquieu, Burke, and Blackstone, concerning it—Its Amelioration.*

The subject matter of this sketch will be: the Catholic Penal Code, and its repeal by act of Parliament, in 1829.

The act of Emancipation extended to Catholics alike in all parts of the United Kingdom. But, as the large majority of the professors of that faith dwelt in Ireland, and as they composed nearly seven-eighths of the people of that island, and as it was there that the long and fierce conflict was waged which ultimately compelled English Protestants to yield to their Catholic fellow subjects the rights of toleration which they enjoyed, this was regarded as emphatically an Irish reform.

Ireland! What a throng of associated ideas start to life at the mention of that name! How varied their aspect—how contradictory their character—how antagonistic the emotions they kindle, the sentiments they inspire. Ireland, the land of genius and degradation, of vast resources and pinching poverty, of noble deeds and revolting crimes, of valiant resistance to tyranny and obsequious submission to usurpation. Ireland, the land of splendid orators, charming poets, brave soldiers, and great statesmen; the land of ignorance, superstition, abjectness, and beggary; meanness in its capacities, situated in its products, a strange anomaly, a complication of contradictions.

Though this portraiture, sketched by no un-friendly hand, be but a rude outline, does it not shadow forth the original? Why are its darker colors no less fatal delineations of the prominent features than the brighter? The very problem which a whole century has not been able to solve! The British Tory will point to what he calls "the malign character of the Irish," as the prime cause of the debasement and wretchedness which exist among them. The British Whig, whose zeal for Protestantism, as a mere *ism*, has clouded his judgment, will assign the general prevalence of the Catholic religion in the island, as the source of most of the evils which afflict it. The genuine Irishman, who regards his native isle as the greenest and fairest the sun ever smiled upon, will tell you that, giving due weight to many obvious but secondary influences, the degradation and misery which beset and crush such masses of his countrymen, must be ascribed to the fact that Ireland, which could once boast of national independence, a regal sovereignty, and a royal Parliament, is now a mere appendage to the English Crown, without a name, a flag, or a Senate; an oppressed colony crouching under a hated yoke of vassalage; a captive province paying tribute to a conqueror, who, having robbed it of nationality, appoints its rulers, dictates its laws, prescribes its ritual, plunders its wealth, tarnishes its reputation, and scoffs at its commands.

Waiving till another occasion the question whether the prime cause of Ireland's miseries does not lie deeper than her compulsory and unnatural union with Great Britain, let us enter a little further into the feelings of the struggling Irishman. Go with him to Dublin. The beauty—one of the fairest in the United Kingdom. But, its beauty is that of the fading flower nipped by the untimely frost—the beauty of the chiselled marble, rather than of the living, acting, speaking man. Consumptive, pale, listless, it lacks the bloom, the freshness, the vivacity of conscious health. Its manufactures, its domestic trade, its foreign commerce, since the union with England, have dwindled under the shadow of its towering rival beyond the channel, until its market days are as sombre as a London Sabbath. Its dull streets and slumbering wharves, yes, the very gait and air of its populace, give token that its prosperity is arrested by the hand of decay, whilst its magnificent public edifices seem to stand only as cold and melancholy monuments of its departed greatness and glory. From the proud capital of an independent nation, Dublin has degenerated to the chief mart of a dependent province, whose owners are "absentee proprietors," whose husbands pay their rents to foreign landlords, whose merchants are the mere agents of distant capitalists, and whose nobles are proud to hide their Irish stars under English ribbons.

Everything in Dublin reminds the Irishman of his captivity of his country. He feels a slight shame when he conducts a stranger through the stately halls of the Bank of Ireland; for there the Lords and Commons of the Emerald Isle once legislated. He is pained when you extol the grandeur of this noble building; for, to his eye, its glory has faded and fled. Walk with him through that broad and beautiful avenue, Sackville street, and your praise of its elegant mansions only reminds him that the Irish nobility that once resided there have gone to swell the brilliant pageant of the conqueror at Hyde Park and St. James's Palace. Wander with him amidst the filth and squalor of the lanes of the city, and he points to wretchedness and want as the fruits of English legislation. Go with him to the Castle, and as the soldiery file through its turreted gate, clad in the uniform of the Saxon, ruler, but as the trained assassins of an alien despot.

With such mementoes of the departed power

and present captivity of Ireland, meeting his eye at every turn, was it not natural that the genuine Irishman, who submitted to the rule of England for the same reason that the slave wears the chain of master, should, with the free blood which his Creator gave him boiling in his veins, twenty years ago present to his oppressor the alternatives of civil war or unqualified toleration in the exercise of his hereditary religious faith—that eight years ago he should rush to Conciliation Hall, and agitate for his civil rights under the motto, "No People, strong enough to be a Nation, should consent to be a Province"—and that this present year, when the last hope of civil emancipation by peaceful means had died out, and all Europe was in arms, casting away the chains of age, he should light the fires of revolution on the heights of Ballymurry, resolved to strike one despairing blow for the deliverance of a long-oppressed country? He who would brand Washington a traitor, may sink the iron into the foreheads of Mitchell, O'Brien, and Meagher.

But, we anticipate. All these matters belong to the discussion of a subject yet to be considered—the *Independence of Ireland*. I have been betrayed into them, prematurely and immaturely, by the temper of the times. Our present business is with the Catholic Penal Code.

This Code was essentially ameliorated in 1793, and again in 1798, in regard to recusancy, obtaining and holding real estate, guardianship and teaching of children going abroad to be educated as Papists, practicing law, attending Papist worship, officiating as priests, and in other particulars. The elective franchise was extended to Catholics, though they were still excluded from Parliament. But, he who would bring himself into the pale of these ameliorations, must submit to many degrading and annoying restrictions, in the form of registration, oaths, subscriptions, declarations, &c. To these many could not conscientiously yield; whilst others, high-minded persons, would not. In a word, down to 1829, when it was finally repealed, many of the worst features of the Code remained, making it an offence for seven-eighths of the people of Ireland to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences; subjecting them to degrading tests or heavy penalties for exercising precious civil and social rights; goading them with a thousand petty and provoking annoyances, till they had come to regard as leathans while baying at Christian altars, and aliens to a Government under which they were born, and to whose support they were compelled to contribute their blood in war, and their money in peace! It stop not to mention that the Catholic, after spending his substance to sustain the ministry and worship of his own creed, was often forced to give up his bed or his cow to pamper an indolent priesthood whose teachings he repudiated, and a bloated church whose rites he renounced—for, to this robbery not only then, but now, is subjected, in common with the Dissenters of all denominations. To all this, one may enter his protest, while holding at arm's length the Catholic ritual. To worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without human molestation or earthly fear, is the divine right of every man, whether he be Irish Catholic or English Protestant, Massachusetts freeman or Louisiana slave.

A further notice of the repeal of the Catholic Penal Code is postponed till the next number.

H. B. S.

For the National Era.

## STATISTICS OF FRANCE:

IN Population, Agriculture, Education, Administration of Justice, Religion, Finances, &c.

BY W. G. SNETHEN, COUNSELLOR AT LAW, WASHINGTON.

NO. 2.

## THE SCHOOLS OF FRANCE.

Under Bonaparte, a body of educated men was organized under the title of *Université*, which has continued, with some modifications, to the beginning of the year 1848, to hold the chief direction of education in France. Of this body, which is incorporated by law, and which possesses large disposable funds, arising from real estate of Government grants, and pay pupils, all public teachers are members. The highest officer of this *Université* is the Minister of Public Instruction, who has a seat in the Cabinet. He makes all the appointments in the *Université*, and fills all vacancies in the Academies and Colleges, upon the recommendation of the local authorities, by whom the strictest examinations are instituted. He is assisted by a council of ten members, men of the highest rank in the literary and scientific world. No school of any kind can be opened in any part of France without permission from the *Université*.

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jects placed under the control of this Department, for the fiscal year ending with the 30th of June, 1850.

"The gross amount of estimate is \$5,863,856.58; of which the following, being for special objects, must be deducted, to ascertain the probable annual expense of the navy:

For transportation of the mails . . . . . \$874,600

For floating dry docks, basins, and rail-

ways . . . . . 650,000

Completing stone dock at New York . . . . . 400,000

Improvements, &c., at navy yards . . . . . 846,310

2,860,910

Which sum, being deducted, will leave for one year's expense of the naval service, including in-  
valuable widows' pensions and the marine corps,

\$5,997,946.58.

I have the honor herewith to transmit a statement from the Fourth Auditor's Office, showing the exact amount of appropriations and expenditures made for the entire public service under the control of the Navy Department in each year from the 30th of June, 1844, to the first day of July, 1848; by which it will appear that the aggregate amount of expenditures for the two fiscal years ended on the 30th of June, 1844, and 1845, amounted to \$14,967,036.09, and the aggregate amount for the two fiscal years ending on the 30th of June, 1848, was \$21,509,681.83.

The first two were in time of peace; the last two, embrace with a trifling exception, the entire period of the war with Mexico. In the last two, it is worthy of remark, that for the construction of war steamers authorized by Congress, but not intended or expected to be employed in the war, and for other special objects, very considerable expenditures were made under appropriations for the year. The ordinary expenses of the naval service have been but slightly increased by the war with Mexico.

On the first day of July last, it appears that there remained in the Treasury an unexpended balance of the year's appropriations for the naval service of \$3,295,630.57. Of this sum, one million seven hundred and ninety-five thousand six hundred and thirty dollars fifty-sevens cents were carried to the surplus fund; and, as authorized by law, were expended for the ordinary expenses of the service, leaving a balance of \$2,000 appropriated for the purchase of property on hand for naval purposes amounting to \$9,400,370.<sup>v</sup>

#### REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

*Post Office Department.* Dec. 2, 1848.

Six. — The post routes in operation within the United States on the 30th day of June last were 163,308 miles in extent, and the annual transportation of the mails over them was \$1,023,679 miles, costing \$2,485,766, as follows:

On railroads, 4,740,400 miles, costing \$624,162

In steamship lines, 1,000 miles, costing \$54,003

On coaches, 14,065,168 miles, costing \$796,320

In other modes of travel, 37,744,194 miles, costing \$1,145

Consequently, the cost of the mail service, in the cost of agency, to be deducted, is —

7,910

And in addition thereto, for foreign mail service, 100,500

To which add the cost of agents, for the year ending the 30th of June, 1848, as compared with 1847, of 4,235

But the cost of foreign mail, which appears for the first time in the tables of this year, is —

100,000

And the cost of the mail service, in the cost of agency, to be deducted, is —

4,235

Leaving a balance of saving in the cost of our inland mails for 1848, as compared with 1847, of 56,560

The cost of foreign mail, which appears for the first time in the tables of this year, is —

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The cost of foreign mail

not as a Native, not as a Whig, not as a Democrat, but as an independent man. The People would rally to its support."

Enough. The Whig party adopted an independent candidate, who professed no opinions respecting any political question; and, to harmonize its position with his, the Philadelphia Convention refrained from the utterance of any opinions. General Taylor was elected by the People, while all of the organizations, any these leading Whigs of Philadelphia. "What, then, shall we do? We must follow the example set by the Philadelphia Convention, and make the position of General Taylor our position. Where he goes, we will go; what he believes, we will believe; his people shall be our people, his will, our will. We are no longer Whigs, or Natives, or Democrats—we are simply the People, or, to be more definite, *Taylor Republicans*—his name, our name; his creed on the veto power, our sole platform! The Whig party was—it performed its mission—it is not. Peace to its ashes, whence has arisen a Party, still better adapted to the crisis!"

As this disorganization of the Whig Party has already been consummated at Philadelphia, and a similar work is to be carried on throughout the country, the question which every man, hitherto a Whig, has to decide, is, "where shall I go?" To help to a right decision, we will would refer him to the resolutions agreed upon by the Buffalo Convention, in support of which, at the late election, three hundred thousand voters cast their votes. The badge of these men is *not* devotion to a man, but a series of well-defined, all-important principles. There is something in the title, "Free Democracy," more compatible with the intelligence and self-respect of a free People, than in that of "Taylor Republicans."

#### LITERARY NOTICES.

**THE MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW.** No. V. December, 1848. Boston: Coddington & Wiley. This has been pronounced by several journals the best number of the Massachusetts Quarterly yet issued; and we concur in the opinion. The subjects are well chosen, and treated generally in a masterly style. It opens with a characteristic article, from the pen of Theodore Parker, we should judge, on the Political Destination of America. There is little formal logic, but a great deal of genius about it; and where the writer does not permit his intensity of thought to urge him into extravagance, he is witty, profound, and eloquent by turns. The important subjects of Postal Reform and the Free Soil movement, occupy a large space this number.

**THE REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.**

We commend this interesting report to the attention of our readers. For the sake of making room, we omit a few brief passages of no general interest.

It is a document full of encouragement to the friends of low postage. For eight years preceding the act of 1845, reducing the rates of postage, there was an annual average deficiency in the revenues of the Department of about \$125,000. During the same period, the total amount of transportation was diminished 12,000 miles; so that if the high rates of postage had been continued, the service must have been greatly reduced, or large sums of money were annually drawn from the Treasury for its use?" This is one fact.

The act of 1845 reduced the rates more than one-half. At the close of the first year, under the reduced rates, the deficit was less than had been apprehended, being only \$57,000; at the close of the second, it was but \$25,417; while at the end of the third year, June 30th, 1848, there was a surplus of \$172,232 beyond the proper expenses of the year. This is another fact.

Then consider the following table:

Last year of High Postage.	
Revenue	\$4,285,841.50
Expenditure	4,320,731.00
Excess of expenditure	36,890.19
First year of Reduced Postage.	
Revenue	\$3,487,199
Expenditure	4,084,296
Excess of expenditure	597,097
Third year of Reduced Postage.	
Revenue	\$4,374,977
Expenditure	4,198,845
Excess of revenue	175,232

While the expenditure has been diminished, and the revenue augmented under the reduced rates, the number of post offices has been multiplied, and the amount of service greatly increased.

Number of post offices in 1845 14,103  
Number of post offices in 1848 16,159

Increase in three years 2,056

Annual transportation, July 1st, 1845 35,634,269

Annual transportation, July 1st, 1848 41,012,579

Increase in three years 5,375,310

These are some of the prominent facts disclosed in the report. They show that, although the Postmaster General was opposed in the first instance to an immediate reduction of the rates of postage, he has accomplished much in carrying the new system into successful operation. He has conducted his Department with energy, economy, and vigilance, and deserves high commendation for the fidelity he has manifested to the interests of the public in his dealings with contractors and railroad and steamboat corporations. The country is certainly not indebted to him for the new system of postage, but it is indebted to him largely for the economical arrangements that have promoted its success.

We wish we could express as unqualified approbation of the views of the Postmaster General in relation to a further reduction of postage as we have, of his mode of management under the present rates. But there are points in the report from which we are obliged to dissent. It is assumed that the Post Office Department ought to be a self-sustaining concern, and for the following reasons:

A large number of the people have little or no connection with the mail system. To subject that class to share the burden of its support by a direct tax, or by imposts levied upon the necessities of life would meet, it is believed, the approbation of but few disinterested citizens?

Now, we cannot but believe that the portion of the people, having no connection with the mail system, so far from being large, is very inconsiderable.

The great majority of the free population derives direct, and the whole an indirect benefit from the mail system. How many families are without newspapers, received through the mail, or without distant friends or relatives from whom they occasionally expect letters by mail? And we have the testimony of the Postmaster General himself that every part of the Union, every person, every interest, derive advantage at least indirectly from the mail.

"The means," he remarks, "which a well-directed, cheap mail system affords, of a rapid interchange of ideas between different and distant classes of knowledge, its influence upon society, but little, if any, less than that of printing; its importance to every interest, social, commercial, and political, would justify the answer, that a lower rate of postage should be adopted, if it can be done without a departure from that principle heretofore maintained in the country—that this Department should be sustained from its own resources."

Undoubtedly; but the very sections in which these facilities of intercourse are multiplying with unexampled rapidity, will not be reached by any reduction in the rates of postage short of two cents; and will not point a large portion of private express to monopoly a large portion of their perfect."

What injustice there would be in appropriating, if necessary, a portion of moneys out of the Treasury to sustain a system so vital to every section and interest of our country, we cannot understand.

Appropriations are made for the army, navy, Indian affairs, improvements of our coast, &c., because they are great public interests—but not one of them surpasses in importance the great interest in which are involved the social, political, and commercial intercourse of the people with each other.

But it may be said, these other interests are

such a nature that they cannot provide for themselves, while the mail system can be made self-supporting. True, and that is the real basis on which to rest the policy of making its own revenues pay its own expenses. It should be made to sustain itself, because it can do so, and not because it is a partial interest, and therefore has no right to claim support from the general revenue. For, let it be assumed that a system of cheap postage cannot be sustained without drafts upon the Treasury of the United States, then we hold that the drafts should be made. It would be right that the whole should pay for what benefits the whole.

The Postmaster General recommends the adoption of a uniform rate of five cents for all distances, on all letters of half an ounce and under. Less, he thinks, would not sustain the Department. It was confidently predicted by the opponents of cheap postage, that the reduction already effected would make the Department a burden on the Treasury, and even its advocates supposed that such would be the fact for many years. All are disappointed, though the principle of low postage has been only partially adopted, and, of course, not had a chance to show its full power; in the third year of its operation, the Department not only has been relieved from an annual deficit of \$125,000, but shows a surplus of revenue, while the service has been extended more than five thousand miles!

We repeat, these results have been accomplished by only a partial application of the principle.

The Postmaster now proposes an extension of it, but not its full application. The uniform rate of five cents will, we doubt not, be productive of good results. Correspondence between distant points will be stimulated, and numerous letters brought into the mail, which now contribute nothing to its resources. But why stop at this partial good? The change will not meet the wants of the community—it will not counteract the great evil—we mean the carriage of letters out of the mail between points where letters now bear the rate of six cents, as they formerly bore that of six and a quarter. The benefit of low postage will never be fully realized till these distances are brought within its operation. A single fact stated by the Postmaster General is worth more than a volume of abstract discussion on this subject.

This the Democrats reject. Great excitement prevails, but no violence has yet been attempted. Ohio, on many accounts, stands first among the Western States, and her people are distinguished for their intelligence and good sense. But if this anarchy be continued much longer, her reputation will greatly suffer.

For the National Era.

IRELAND'S RESCUE.

BY AUGUSTINE DUGGANNE.

Ye who would rescue Ireland—  
Who would rid her drooping head—  
Who would clothe her naked multitudes,  
And give her paupers bread—  
O, that your words were in sympathy,  
Not as you are, in opposition,  
But arouse her from her slavishness  
Of twice two hundred years.

That not in Edom's peaceful folds—  
Unclothe'd his bright and deadly folds,  
And living still, and unshod,  
Sends its dark poison through our souls.

From his crooked, blind and lost,  
To have us led to his folds,  
Was sent us when the Saviour died.

All that is left us under heaven—  
Hope of the lost and sin entwined.

Thus the world's sons are given,  
Wherby the sons of men are saved.

Thanks unto God, that He was sent,

A sacred warfare to begin,

That in the end shall surely crush

And lay the world's wealth of sin!

That by His it shall be at last—  
Out from this fair creation hurled,

Who gave its death-blow when the cross  
Was darkly planted in the world.

And thanks to Him, that when the son  
For us was born in the flesh,  
Right in the shadow of that cross  
Held the sunlight of His pardon falls.

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And

## THE NATIONAL ERA.

MR. GIDDINGS'S REPLY TO TRUMAN SMITH.

To the Hon. Truman Smith:

Your letter directed to Mr. Gregory, of this State, but in fact addressed mostly to myself, came first to my notice a few days before the Presidential Election, but too late for me to make any reply until that event had transpired. As the letter was obviously intended to attack my moral and political integrity, justice to myself and friends forbids that I should suffer it to pass unnoticed.

In my remarks at Delaware, to which you refer so much, appear, however, I noticed several acts of Mr. Van Buren which had been charged as favoring Southern institutions, by Messrs. Webster, Ewing, Corwin, and others. In extenuation of these acts of Mr. Van Buren, I cited the votes and official acts of the gentlemen who made the charges. This you call "heaping contumely" on these gentlemen. I know not by what authority you take upon yourself their vindication. You have not the right to do so, for they are abundantly able to do themselves justice. When they, or either of them, shall call for explanation, they will know they will receive it; but I am not informed that either of them has authorized you to call me to account for what I said in relation to them.

You, however, possess the undoubted right to know what I said concerning yourself, and to understand clearly the evidence on which I based my statement. So far as you refer to the letter of General Cass to Captain Allison, I will only remark that I distinctly recollect that that letter was written at *Wilder's Hotel*, in Washington City—and then left them to judge for themselves. I did not understand that you wrote the letter. It was said at the time that you and Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, wrote it. The very cautious language in which you deny that you wrote it, and the careful manner in which you evade all denial of your knowledge that it was written by Mr. Crittenden or by others, can leave no doubt in the rest of facts. If further evidence were necessary, the editor of the *New York Express*, made to the Hon. D. R. Alden, a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention, that such a letter was written and sent to General Taylor, during the session. Yet you seem to regard my absence at Buffalo, and my return to Boston a day or two earlier than I went to Massachusetts, and was absent seven or eight days. It is also true that, in 1846, I went to Maine, at your request, and was absent twice as long as I was in Massachusetts, promulgating the same doctrines. You then approved of my absence and paid my expenses. If the doctrines I promulgated were right, in 1846, they could not be wrong in 1848. Truth, like its Divine Author, is immutable. If my doctrines were correct in Maine, they could not have been erroneous in Massachusetts. But I think I shall be perfectly safe in saying that the speeches in favor of General Taylor, in 1846, were not made by him, but by his agents. He himself occupied the whole House more days than I was absent both at Massachusetts and at Buffalo. This would show a loss of public time two hundred and twenty-eight times greater than that occasioned by my absence. For these abuses you have not a word of reproof.

But you also accuse me of laboring to insure the election of General Cass. Well, sir, suppose I had done so; would I have been more guilty, in the sight of God or man, than I would have been if I had labored for the elevation of General Taylor? General Cass is in no way responsible for it. It is very extraordinary that you should allege in your defense that you never worked in any civil office, nor given a vote for any man to office. But here were two candidates, both of whom I regarded as fully pledged to the extension of slavery over our Mexican territory. *This was the only question pending;* and both candidates were standing on the same policy. If I selected either, I should make myself a party to this crime of transcendent magnitude. The only service I could do my country and mankind in that contest was, to put forth my best effort to arouse the public mind to the enormity of the measure, and to impress upon it, that it was a wrong, and a dangerous wrong. I hoped to call up a state of feeling in us to defeat the policy to which they were pledged. As between the two, I felt entirely indifferent, though I was inclined to believe that the election of General Cass would have been less dangerous to the North than that of General Taylor.

But you say, if the election had come into the House, I would have probably cast my vote for General Cass. In this you are entirely wrong. I would rather have seen this Union blown to fragments, than I would have made myself a party to the extension of slavery. Neither Cass nor myself would have been elected. We could not have been elected, if we had not been pledged to the annexation of our Southern coast. This is the reason why they had given assurance that they would oppose the extension of slavery over New Mexico and California. I know that it is said we must take the choice of evils. In this case, the evil was the one which either were elected; there was therefore no choice. Nor could the nomination at Philadelphia place me under any obligation to participate in this iniquity of riveting the chains of servitude upon unborn millions of our race.

You say that, "at the opening of the late session of Congress I represented the nomination of the Whigs to the Speaker." At the election of Mr. Winthrop, and from that time have been the bitter enemy of the Whig party. I regret this allusion to my vote against Mr. Winthrop. My reasons for that vote have heretofore been published. My constituents have approved it in the most unmistakable language. The premature and unnecessary surrender by Mr. Winthrop of his opposition to the annexation of Texas; his opposition to all efforts made to place Massachusetts in hostility to any Presidential candidate whose views in relation to extending the Slave Power were unknown to the people of the free States, and shall fully separate and purify the people of the free States from the contagion of slavery—then, sir, your children will rise up and call them blessed!" But if they extend slavery—if they admit more slaves into the Union, then they cannot give up our Southern coast to the Whig party—if they refuse admission to any more slave States—if they shall relieve the people of the free States and the Federal Government from the deep and damning guilt of maintaining a commerce in the bodies of men, now carried upon our Southern coast and in the District of Columbia, and shall fully separate and purify the people of the free States from the contagion of slavery—then, sir, your children will rise up and call them blessed!" They must be determined, and the swelling ranks of the Whig party—*if* they will not yield Wilmot of our own. What a magnificent position do we occupy, when compared with the once admired Steward, Corwin, Greeley, now trailing in the dust, mere appendages of Taylorism, to be shorn of, rejected, and spurned by that army which is the reward due apostles of principle.

They friend, J. FULTON, Jun.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 30, 1848.

DEAR DOCTOR: The Hutchisons are here. They draw crowds in Cincinnati, and they do everywhere. They form a glorious band of singers. They sing with the heart and with the understanding also. They give utterance to the sentiments of the entire people.

Mr. King, from the joint committee appointed on yesterday, reported that said committee had performed the duty assigned them, and that the President would transmit a communication to Congress at twelve o'clock this day.

The annual Message of the President of the United States was here received, by the hands of his private secretary; which was read.

The reading having been concluded, on motion

Mr. Atherton, it was

Ordered, That ten thousand extra copies of the Message and accompanying documents be printed for the use of the Senate.

The Senate then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1848.

SENATE.

The Vice President [Mr. Dallas] and the following named Senators, who were not present yesterday, appeared in their seats this morning, to wit: Messrs. Bright, Dayton, Miller, Niles, and Pearson.

The reading of the Journal having been discontinued with

Mr. King, from the joint committee appointed on yesterday, reported that said committee had performed the duty assigned them, and that the President would transmit a communication to Congress at twelve o'clock this day.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Bright gave notice of a bill for a grant of land, and in the completion of the Clinton and Kalanakosan canal, in the State of Michigan; and a bill for the construction of a military road from the Lake Huron to the State of Michigan, to be laid on the table.

Also, a report of the Treasurer, accompanied by copies of his accounts for the third and fourth quarters of the year 1847, and the first two quarters of the year 1848. Laid on the table.

Mr. Phelps presented the credentials of his colleague from the State of Vermont, for the term of six years from the 4th of March next.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution from the House, providing for the election of chaplains, which was concurred in.

After some ineffectual efforts to proceed at once to the election of chaplain, no quorum voting on any question.

The Senate adjourned.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1848.

SENATE.

The Vice President [Mr. Dallas] and the following named Senators, who were not present yesterday, appeared in their seats this morning, to wit: Messrs. Bright, Dayton, Miller, Niles, and Pearson.

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Borland, of Arkansas, appeared in his seat this morning.

DECREE OF HON. DIXON H. LEWIS.

Immediately after the reading of the Journal,

Mr. King, of Alabama, rose, announced the death of his former colleague, which occurred on the 23rd of October last, in the city of New York, and submitted the resolutions usually adopted on such occasions.

Mr. Dix and Mr. Dickinson each followed with a brief tribute to the memory of the deceased, when the resolutions were adopted, and

The Senate adjourned over to Monday next.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Journal having been read, Mr. Ashmun submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to inform him of the imprisonment or arrest of citizens of the United States in the province of Ireland by the British authorities; and, if so, the causes thereof. And also, if possible, to furnish him with the public interests, to inform this House what steps have been taken for their release, and to furnish it with copies of all correspondence that has taken place in relation to the matter.

The Speaker laid before the House several communications received at the close of the last session of Congress, but which were not laid before the House for want of time, viz:

A message from the President of the United States, assigning his reasons for his approval of the bill to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. T. C. Teller introduced a bill to prohibit certain imports from N. P. T. T. in addition to those laid before the House at its last session. Laid on the table.

Also, sundry reports from Departments, of no general interest.

The House then adjourned.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Borland, of Arkansas, appeared in his seat this morning.

DECREE OF HON. DIXON H. LEWIS.

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